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The bear hunt. Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following ceremony, known as *wana°ke'ce*, literally "concentration of the mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the hunt rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai°wanax* or *nai°waidjo'k'ce*. The hunt never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[1]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'c*, when bear break hickory or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

Description of a bear hunt.—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would avoid the hunters

[1] Numerous descriptions of the *wanaºkeºce* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

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eating. Then the war leader asked for food, and it was brought to him. Now the female relatives of the men came to the camp, bringing with them provender for the journey. After that the chief asked some man to tell stories and some to take care of the fireplaces, while two brave warriors were put in charge of the camp. Toward morning a number of warriors who had not been asked to join this particular war party might stray in (*hoire'gwire*). 721

Before the war leader enters the *hipijara* he places his war bundle crosswise in front of the entrance of the *hipijara* and sings some songs. When he is finished, his attendants place the war bundle on his back, and only then does he really enter the *hipijara*, followed by all the other members of the war party.[1]

When they approached the place where they expected to find the enemy, two distinguished warriors were appointed to reconnoiter, and they proceeded ahead of the war party until they saw the enemy. Then they returned to the camp and reported to the war leader. From that time on they would practice their various individual powers (*ewuxi'p waxhipire'je*).[2] 726

When the two warriors went out to reconnoiter return, the attendant offers them the pipe that he had prepared for the war leader. They smoke it and say, "Those whom we are after are entirely unaware of our presence." Then the members of the war party would thank them for their information. All would now start out against the enemy. When near the enemy, they practice their powers again and paint themselves with their war paints. To these spirits who have bestowed blessings upon the various members of the war party offerings are now made. Especially to the spirits who are in control of war powers are offerings made. To them they also pray for life and for war honors in the coming encounter. They even offer tobacco to those spirits from whom they have not received blessings, asking them for aid because of their careful observance of all the customs and precepts they were taught. Some offered tobacco to a medicine they possessed and asked the medicine to remember them in the coming encounter. Others boiled water (for a spirit) and asked him to assist them in obtaining a war honor, while others again offered tobacco to their war bundles and prayed that the powers contained therein might be strong and that they might kill some of the enemy and obtain war honors. All prayed that the enemy might not kill them and that they might finally return home safe. Those who had no supernatural powers to fall back upon would get frightened at such a time and they would say, "Alas! how will I fare! I should have fasted. I should have given feasts. I should have offered good medicines to the spirits and fasted until I was blessed, so that I, too, might now have some powerful medicine to use. Had I fasted and obtained a blessing from the spirits who are in control of war powers, had I given feasts, this all would have been a source of strength to me now and I would know positively whether or not I am going to be killed in the coming encounter." 726 782

When everything is in readiness the war leader rises and appoints four warriors to give the war whoop. Then, as soon as the war whoop has been given, they would rush upon the enemy, imitating as they ran the sounds of the spirits who had blessed them. The first four to kill and count coup obtained the corresponding four war honors. Those who captured a man also obtained war honors. Besides these principal ones there were minor war honors. Those who obtained no honors at all would return home crying. After they had killed all those in the village of the enemy they would burn it to the ground and then start for their homes in the host of spirits. 726 [55]

When they were near their home they sent a messenger ahead to inform their relatives to put on mourning, for all those who had started out on the warpath had been killed; that he who had in reality obtained the first war honor had been killed first, 727

[1] *Hipijara* is the sacred arrangement of the camp used on individual warpaths.

[2] When a war party has located the enemy, they prepare for the attack and run about, practicing their individual magical powers. "The war-club running" (*ewuxi'p waxhipire'je*) referred to in the practice of running about in preparation for the attack upon the enemy so that they may not get tired out too easily. [78]

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867 787 756 that are in your possession. You will indeed never be embarrassed. You will know just wherein his ailment lies. As you have obtained your power with great effort, therefore what you say will be so. If you say he will live, he will live. If the relatives of the patient make you good payments, you may perform what you are accustomed to in your treatment of people. Then you can ask your medicine to put forth its strength for you and it will do so. If you make good [782] offerings of tobacco to the plants and if you make feasts in their honor, if, indeed, you make much of your medicine, if you talk to it as though it were a human being, then when you ask it to put forth its strength it will do so. The payments that you receive you can take with a good conscience and your children will wear them and will be strengthened thereby. So be very diligent in the care you bestow upon them. The medicines were placed here by Earthmaker for a good purpose. We are to use them to heal ourselves. For that purpose Earthmaker gave them to us. If anyone tries to obtain the life sustainers—that is, the medicines—and inflicts suffering upon [776] himself in order to obtain them, our grandmother will know about it. So whatever you spend upon it, be it in labor or in goods, she will know about it. All that you gave in obtaining your medicines she will know. They will be returned to you. The people will thus be providing themselves with something for the future. The people always look forward to the future and for all possible happenings they will have some medicine provided. You must try to obtain some of the medicines that most people possess. If you want 867 paint-medicine, make yourself pitiable. If your paint-medicine ● 789 overcomes your enemy and you keep it in your home, you will never 756 be wanting in wealth. The most valued possessions of the people will be given to you. The people will love you and the paint-medicine will be the cause of it. Whatever you receive will be in consequence of the possession of the paint-medicine. The paint-medicine [776] is made of the blood of the Water-spirits, and therefore it is holy. People used to fast and thirst themselves to death and a Water-spirit would appear to them and bestow his blessings upon them. Whatever he told them would come true. The Earthmaker put the 867 Water-spirit in charge of these things so that he would bless the 789 people with them. That was his purpose.

Some people who wished to find good medicines obtained the [525 224] race medicine. Try and learn of it. Others had gambling medicine, and still others again had hunting medicine. There are medicines for very purpose.

[832] There is a courting medicine and a medicine to prevent married people from wishing to separate, and there is a medicine for making one rich.

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754 If one wishes to make a person crazy, there is a medicine for that purpose.

If some one had made another one sad at heart and he wished to revenge himself, he would use a medicine that would make that person crazy. Thus he would poison him.

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832 If a person wished to marry a certain girl and she did not want him, he would poison her with a medicine that would make her become a harlot. All the men would fall in love with her by reason of the medicine he gave her.

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832 If they wished a man to be continually running after a woman, they had a medicine for that purpose. All these medicines they possessed. You can obtain any of them you like if you ask for them in the proper way.

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789 Some people have knowledge of plants that will cause a person to sleep all the time. Others again have medicines that will cause them to stay awake all the time. Some know how to overcome the viciousness of dogs that watch over women by means of medicines; some again have medicines that will make people single them out even in crowds. If this person uses his medicine in a crowd of people, the one on whom it is used will consider him a great man no matter how many there should be in the crowd. Some have a medicine to be used for preventing an individual from getting tired. Others have a medicine to be used when they have dog contests.

Whatever they did, for that they would have medicines.

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787 Whenever they plant a field they protect it with medicine tied on to a stick. No one will then go through that field without suffering for it. If you did not have that protection, people could go through your field whenever they wished. In short, try to obtain as many medicines as you possibly can, for you will need them all. People should always look out for themselves so that they may learn what is necessary to make life comfortable and happy. If you try to obtain the knowledge of those things you will get along in life well. You will need nothing; and whenever you need a certain medicine, instead of being compelled to buy it, you will have it in your own possession. If you act in this manner and keep on fasting you will never be caught offguard during your life. If you have a home, it will always look nice and you will be lacking in nothing. So, do what I tell you and you will never regret it in after life. Try and learn the way in which your ancestors lived and follow in their footsteps.

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867 787 If you thus travel in the road of the good people, it will be good and other people will not consider your life a source of amusement."

If you can not obtain a blessing from the spirits try also to have some good plant take pity on you. This I am telling you and if you do not do it, you will suffer for it. All that I am saying will be of great benefit to you if you pay heed to me, for (you will need 867 medicines for) whatever you do in life, if you are not fortunate ● 789 enough to obtain blessings from the spirits. If you are ever on the 726 warpath, you will need medicine in order to escape being hit or in order to prevent yourself from getting exhausted or from feeling famished. If you manage to be fortunate in all these things you may be certain that the medicines have caused it.

867 577 My son, help yourself as you go along life's path, for this earth has many narrow passages and you can never tell when you will come to one. If, however, you have something with which to strengthen yourself you will come safely through the passages you meet.

Let every one think you a desirable person to know. Associate with people. If you act in this manner, every one will like you. (You will live) a contented life. Never do anything wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask you to do, do not hesitate to do it for them. If you act thus people will say you are good-natured. If you ever lose a friend by death and if you have riches cover[96] the expenses of the funeral of the deceased. Help the mourners to feed the people at the wake. If you act thus you will be acting well. Then you will be truly a helper of the people and they will know you as such. Indeed, all of them will know you. For the good you do, all will love you.

867 525 My son, do not become a gambler. You might, it is true, become rich, but in spite of your wealth all your children will die. No gambler ever had children. It is an affair of the bad spirits entirely. Now if you do all that I have told you, you will unquestionably lead a happy and contented life.

867 Thus would the old people speak to a child whom they loved very much, that he might obtain the means of warding off what is not good. Anyone who acted contrary to these teachings would have himself to blame for the consequences.

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[966] [602] [96] This dislike of being made fun of, or of being the laughing stock, plays an important rôle among the Winnebago. It is not at all comparable to the same feeling as found at the present day among civilized people of Western Europe, for it is infinitely deeper and closely associated with social ostracism. The despondency caused by being made fun of, would frequently drive a person away from home or lead him to embark on any undertaking that would bring death. Owing to the social consequences coming in its train, a man would consequently do most anything in his power to ward it off. Correlated with this negative aspect of the use of "fun poking," there is a positive one. There are certain relatives who have the privilege of making fun of or playing practical jokes on you. This "joking relationship" exists among many tribes in America, but the relations between whom it is permitted differ in every case. Among the Winnebago it exists between uncles and nieces and nephews and between brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law.

[96] That is, buy the funeral apparel for the deceased.

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The four cardinal points and the winds that are there, they are in control of. If on a very nice day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become bad, and if on a very bad day a deer's voice is heard, that day will become nice. The deer people are those who are in control of the weather. And they also have a name, *He-who-plays-with-the-winds*, and a woman is called *She-who-goes-with-the-wind*. The deer would always sit with the wind back of them. Thus they roamed all over the earth. Not one place on this earth did they miss.

Once, when they had come home, their eldest brother suddenly fell down (dead). "What is the matter?" they said. And the second-born said, "Our oldest brother is not saying anything. I don't know what the matter is." And then they asked their youngest brother and he said, "Our oldest brother is dead. That is the way Earthmaker arranged things." And then he talked to the dead brother and he said, "Earthmaker has made a place for you to go to now that you are dead. You have not attained a large share of life and you have left us who remain on the earth in a pitiable condition. But now that you are going home I want to ask you something. Those years that are still coming to you, distribute among your relatives. This I beg of you. And this is the second request: May the warpaths that you did not go on (by reason of your death), may the war honors that you did not obtain, may all these things be distributed among us. This I ask of you, my dear brother. And this is the third request: May the food that you did not eat, the nuts, the sweet fruits, etc., all that you liked on earth, may it all be distributed among us. This is what I ask of you. And this is the fourth request, my dear older brother: May all the wearing apparel that belonged to you as well as all the materials that you stored in back of your tent, never to be touched by you, but may we who are left behind use it all. This I ask of you. Wherever you are going, may these requests of those whom you left here behind on earth be before you."

Then the younger brother took some red paint and he said, "Brother, I am going to paint you. Thus they will recognize you at home. That is the way we will always do it hereafter. Those who are to live after us will paint us in the same way. Now this is the manner of painting. The forehead and the corners of the eye are to be painted in black and red streaks, respectively, and the chin and the front part of the throat are to be painted red." Then he dug a grave. Then they buried him. Then they sang the songs and when they were finished with this, they traveled around the earth and came to the gathering place of the clans. When they came to that place they were people—i. e., human beings. They lived their own life just as they had as deers. All the incidents of their traveling as well as all the characteristics of deers were used in the names

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CHAPTER X

SHAMANISTIC AND MEDICINAL PRACTICES

Introduction

756 [171] The shamanistic and medicinal practices of the Winnebago differ in no respect from those found all over the woodland area and there is consequently no need for discussing them at length. The stories told about *Midjistega* and old Lincoln are the famous tricks and sleight-of-hand performances known all over America. There does not seem to be as much said about the conjuring lodge as is the case among the Ojibwa. This apparently is identical with the Winnebago *waruka'na*, "exerting one's powers." The lack of specific information relating to this subject obtained by the author may, however, be due to accident.

278 754 [787] The Winnebago make a fourfold classification of their medicines: Those that affect a person by direct administration; those that affect him by their odor, like love and racing medicines; those that affect him at a distance; and those that are shot at an individual. Most of the medicines are obtained by fasting, although they can also be bought. The most important of these medicines are those called the stench-earth medicine (see p. 259) and the black-earth medicine.

[788] Medicine may be used in a number of ways, but principally as offerings or as means of killing animals or men. It is often chewed.

[789] In order to make arrows or guns unerring, medicine is frequently rubbed upon them.

754 Sympathetic magic is of course well known. The procedure is the common one. A picture of the man to be harmed is drawn on the ground and shot at, stabbed, etc. The man is then certain to die a short time after, in the same manner as the figure has been mutilated.

There are two general magical ceremonies. *Waruka'na*, to know something by exerting one's powers; *wana"teere*, to hypnotize in the distance. (For description of latter, see p. 111.)

787 *Example of waruka'na.*—J.'s older brother and a friend had failed to return home and so J.'s grandfather went to a man called C. English and, offering him some tobacco, asked him to find out something about his son—i. e., to exert his powers. English did so and told the old man that they were camping and making sugar and that if

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the old man went to a certain place she would find them. He went and found it was so.

Tales Concerning Midjitega

Recently the Potawatomi were going on the warpath and a number of other tribes were going along with them. As they were making their preparations they spent the evenings exhibiting the various powers they possessed and which they had obtained during their 'asta.

One day Robert Lincoln's father heard that a Winnebago was going to come and give a grizzly bear dance. Old Lincoln and a few other Potawatomi decided to go over and watch him. When they arrived at the lodge they were told that the name of the Winnebago was *Midjitega*. They were also told that this *Midjitega* was going to make some gunpowder (in a magical manner). When they heard this, the Potawatomi said that if he could make his teeth protrude from his mouth he might be able to make gunpowder, but that otherwise he could not.

In the middle of the lodge where this performance was to be held there was a wooden dish filled with charcoal near which *Midjitega* was sitting. He had beautiful hair and he had marks made by white clay in the corners of his eyes and mouth. When the singers in the lodge began to sing for him he ran around the lodge on all fours, four times. Then he took up the dish of charcoal and shook it. While doing this he made a noise like a grizzly bear. Then his teeth began to protrude. When he had gone around the lodge four times the charcoal turned into gunpowder. Then he took a handful of it and threw it into the fire and it exploded. The members of the different tribes present took some of it and put it in their war-bundles. It is only a short time ago that a Winnebago war-bundle that was supposed to have some of this gunpowder was stolen. It belonged to a man named Buchanan.

Old man Lincoln had never seen any Winnebago before this, but he could understand their language and he interpreted all that *Midjitega* said. The Potawatomi around him asked whether he had learned the language from some of his Winnebago relatives but he said he had not.

After showing that he could make gunpowder in this way, *Midjitega* made some plug tobacco. He cut the bark of some walnut trees into the shape of plug chewing tobacco and put it in a white deerskin on top of which was placed a piece of real plug tobacco. Then *Midjitega* said, "Now since I have made gunpowder I will also make some plug tobacco." Then he took the bundle and danced around the lodge with it and by the time he had danced around the lodge the third time the odor of tobacco became very

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648 strong. After he had danced around for the fourth time he opened
789 up his package and there was the tobacco. Then he spoke to the
796 people, "You people of different tribes, the one that is dancing
726 with me will obtain the first war-honor on the warpath that you
791 are planning now, for I am giving him that honor and that power."

After this he told them that he would make them some paint, as they seemed to be short of it then. He took a wooden dish and filled it full of ashes and covered it up with a white deerskin. Then he danced around the lodge. As he was dancing around for the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed yellow-colored paint. The fourth time he danced around, the paint turned into a red color. When, finally, *Midjistega* took the cover off, there was red paint of a very fine quality. Then the members of the different tribes distributed it among one another.

After this he made some axes. He molded some clay into the shape of axes and put them into a deerskin. On top of this bundle he put a real metal ax. Then taking this bundle he started to dance around the lodge. As he went around the lodge the third time, old Lincoln thought he noticed something shining. After he had gone around the fourth time he took the cover off and there were some real axes. They were all new and bright.

Then he decided to make some hoes, and then some awls. All of these he made of clay. Then he made some needles of deer hair. Then, noticing some boys playing with some basswood bark, he asked them to give him some, and out of it he made ribbons of four different colors, blue, white, red, and black.

Then he said, "As I have made almost everything, I will now try and make some whisky. If I fail there will be no harm done anyhow." Old Lincoln told his people what *Midjistega* was saying. Then they placed a new pail full of water before him. He took a flute and began to dance around the lodge. After he had made the first circuit of the lodge he held the flute near the pail, almost sticking it into the water. The second time he approached the pail he stuck the flute into the water just a little bit. The third time he came near it he stuck the flute into the water and stirred it around. By that time Old Lincoln could smell the odor of whisky pretty strongly. Then *Midjistega* went around the lodge for the fourth time and finally stirred the water with his flute for a long time, and taking a drink from the pail said, "It is whisky." Then he passed it around and everyone present took a drink. Old Lincoln, however, did not touch it. Then his father told him to drink it, as it was holy and had been made by a spirit. Then Old Lincoln drank some, and, sure enough, it was whisky, although it was colorless.

726 After that, all the people went on a warpath. However, the per-
555 son to whom *Midjistega* had promised the first war honor only obtained

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the second one, Old Lincoln himself obtaining the first. The first war honor was a quantity of wampum beads and the second a wampum belt. Both the one who got the second prize and Old Lincoln brought back with them an enemy's head.

From that time on *Midjistega* stayed with the Winnebago and he and Old Lincoln became great friends, living together, one of the reasons being that Old Lincoln could understand Winnebago.

One day they ran short of corn meal, so they decided to go and trade some furs for corn meal. They had plenty of furs because they spent most of their time hunting. When they got to the trader's store *Midjistega* said, "Say, trader, the boys have been out of paint for some time and you ought to give them some." "No, *Midjistega*, I can't do that." Then *Midjistega* again said, "Well, the paint boxes are small and aren't of much value anyhow, and you ought to make them a present of some. However, I always knew you were very stingy." Then the trader said, "My business is to trade you my wares for your furs and I will not give you any paint for nothing." Then *Midjistega* said, "If I had some flour I could make some paint myself. However, I am short of flour, too." Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, you can not do it, for even the whites do not know how to make paint (in that way), so how could you, who are only an Indian, do it?" Thus they spoke to and fro and finally the trader said, "*Midjistega*, I will bet you my store against your furs that if I give you some flour you can not make paint out of it. If I win you are to give me your furs, and if you win I will give you my store." Then the bet was agreed upon.

Then a lodge was prepared and *Midjistega's* drum and flute were carried into it. Then the trader had some flour carried over to the lodge and it was poured into a dish. The trader, suspecting that there might be some trick, stirred up the flour thoroughly. He satisfied himself that there was nothing at the bottom of the dish. *Midjistega*, in the meantime, painted the corners of his mouth and eyes with ashes and then the singers sang for him. Then he handed the flute over to Old Lincoln and told him to blow it for him every now and then. The trader sat near the entrance of the lodge with his employees. Then *Midjistega* jumped up and ran all around the lodge on all fours. Then he took the dish with the flour and shaking it, began to dance around the lodge with it. After he had danced around for the third time it suddenly turned into a yellow color, and Old Lincoln noticed the change in the expression on the trader's face. As he went around for the fourth time it suddenly changed to a red color. When he got back to his starting place it was quite red and was an excellent quality of paint. Then he said, "Well, trader, I have won your store," and the trader answered, "You have won my store. I did not think that an Indian could do it." Then *Mid-*

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Then Mid-
648 *jistega* said, "I can also make some sugar. If you don't believe it,
● 789 give me some more flour." However, the trader said, "There is no
791 need of your proving it; I believe you now." However, he sent one of his employees after some more flour and out of this *Midjistega* made some maple sugar. He made it in the following way. He sprinkled some water on the flour and said, "This shall be the size of pheasants' dung." Then it formed into little round lumps. Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, my store is worth several times the value of your furs, and you have made me a poor man. However, I wish to ask you for one thing this sugar—so that I can eat some of it once in a while." Then *Midjistega* gave it to him. *Midjistega* and his friend carried the contents of the store home. They had to make several trips. All the people at home got a blanket.

Then the trader said, "*Midjistega*, there is not a white man living who would believe that you can do this and if, therefore, I ever call on you to do it again, I hope that you will come with your friends (and do it). This is the only way I can ever win any of my money back again." However, no one ever heard of the trader after that.

Midjistega also made all the different varieties of corn at the Potawatomi meeting.

789 Old Lincoln had always heard of the remarkable power the Winne-
791 bago were supposed to possess in these matters but he had never actually witnessed any exhibition of it until he saw *Midjistega* perform (these tricks).

A man named Young Rogue, a brother of Robert Lincoln, could roll up a piece of clay about the size of a marble and then roll it on the ground and it would change into a toad and jump away. He was also able to shoot a blade of grass right into a log.

Lincoln's Grandfather

754 Lincoln's grandfather was the leader of the medicine dance and every time any relation of his died he would tell the daughters of his relative to stop their crying and that he would avenge the death of their father and kill four people. Shortly after he said this the four whom he had picked out died.

If there was a man with great wealth in the tribe he would make a wooden snake and send it toward the man. Immediately after this it always happened that the rich man would be bitten by a snake. The latter would then send for the medicine man and give him all that he possessed. Then the former would ask him, "When do you want to get well?" If the sick man said "In three to four days," the medicine man would say, "You must like to suffer."

For this reason the children of Lincoln's grandfather always had plenty of wealth.

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The Crow (i. e., Menominee) Indians knew what a wonderful man he was and whenever he went to visit them they gave him many presents. He would be invited to a feast as soon as he arrived. 648 791 754

On one occasion when they had a feast in a lodge (in his honor) one of the Menominee marked the ground in front of him and dared Lincoln's grandfather to come over, saying that if he did he would injure him. When the Winnebago crossed the mark he was pushed in all directions and finally shoved into a pit, bruising himself a great deal. When he came out, the old man said, "You have probably never heard of me. To-morrow noon, soldiers will hit you." Then the Menominee asked, "If soldiers hit me, what will be the result?" "You will die." Then the Menominee said, "You have nothing to do with my life," and made a jump at him.

The Menominee who had been told that he was going to die said the next morning to his nephew, "Nephew, let us go to the lake and look around. I can't forget what the old man told me yesterday." So they took their spears for fishing and went out. While they were on the lake they saw a deer drinking at the edge of the water. The man took a shot at the deer, and the deer ran back into the timber. The man and his nephew pursued it. After a while the man gave a yell and then all was quiet. The nephew went over to the place and there the man was found dead. At his side a very large snake, with hair on its back, was standing.

The next morning one could hear the mourning songs all over the woods. Then they went to look for the Winnebago, for they believed that it was his fault. They told him not to worry about it and gave him a horse to appease him. The day after they all had left the camp, the Winnebago pointed to some hawks that were circling around and told the Menominee to watch the foremost one. Then he pointed his finger at that one and made a sound with his mouth and the bird fell down dead. This Winnebago had the power to do this to all birds. He always told the Winnebago not to eat these birds because they were not good. [765 533] [789]

The Uses of the Stench-Earth Medicine[1]

There once was a man who had consumption and who knew that he was going to die soon. His relatives were about to move him to some other place and so he told them just to build him a separate lodge and leave him alone—that he wanted to die there. He asked them likewise not to come back to see him. They obeyed him and left him to die alone. 763 [64]

One day he decided to go out into the wilderness and die there. He went to the top of a hill and lay down. He noticed many birds

[1] This is the literal translation. What plant is meant the writer was not able to determine.

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arrange to have your victim die immediately, or, if you wish, to have him suffer for a long time, by becoming paralyzed. 734

This same medicine is used in a similar way in times of scarcity of food. The people offer a shaman tobacco and he would do the following: He would take his medicine bundle and walk till he came to the footprints of a bear. Then he would follow the tracks of the bear till he came to his lair. Here he would open his medicine bag, dip the striped feather in the medicine, and sing for some time. When he has finished he makes certain sounds and stabs the bear's footprints. Wherever the bear happened to be at that time, he would not be able to walk, and the people would soon overtake him. For that reason this medicine is valued very highly.

This medicine is also used when one desires something belonging to another. All that is necessary to do in such a case is to use the songs accompanying the medicine. Then all the things one has coveted would immediately be brought. For this reason they thought a good deal of this medicine.

If ever anyone uses it in gambling, he will win. [525]

If again he casts his thoughts upon women, then the power of this medicine would go in their direction, and he will lose while gambling. All the women will, however, like him. He can marry whomsoever he wishes. The same thing will occur when a woman uses this medicine. If she casts her thoughts upon men, she will become foolishly enamored of them. For that reason the old people used to forbid women to use it.

This medicine bundle is also used on the warpath. If a man uses it upon himself and rushes upon the enemy, all those who are in front of him will suddenly find themselves unable to move. A person who goes on a warpath, after he has carefully applied the medicine to himself, is invulnerable. It is impossible to kill him, for no bullets can penetrate his body. 778 726 789

This medicine was likewise used in hunting for bear, and deer could easily be killed with it. Even those who are not accustomed to hunting could kill game easily if they used it. 778 224

Many of the medicines mentioned above were obtained from the man who was blessed with the stench-earth medicine. Everyone believed that the cures effected by him with this medicine were real. They believed that this medicine could cure them, and, indeed, it did cure them. It was this man, too, who originated the stench-earth medicine feast. It is a very sacred feast, considered more sacred than any other feast among the Winnebago. When the feast is given, an entire deer is boiled and cut into pieces much larger than any one person could eat. Nevertheless the host orders those whom he has invited to leave nothing upon the plate. Should any guest leave anything upon his plate, the host would give him a 756 796 [264]

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CHAPTER XI

RELIGION

Introduction

We know that in all religions there are two factors to be considered a specific feeling and certain beliefs, conceptions, customs, and acts associated with that feeling; that the belief most inextricably connected with that religious feeling is the one in spirits more powerful than man and controlling everything in life which he values. 771

The beliefs themselves play an important part with all people, but the importance of the specific feeling varies with each individual. A perusal of the fasting experiences (see pp. 203-308) will make this quite clear. It is because we do not separate the actions and testimony of the religious man from that of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man that most presentations of the subject are so confused and vague. It is, of course, extremely difficult to obtain the real attitude of the intermittently religious and the nonreligious man, because it is the religious individual and leader who gives form to the expressions which religion assumes in ceremony and prayer. Yet we must recognize that there is a difference and that it is often this difference that accounts for certain contradictions in the information obtained. The one place where it is possible, at least among the Winnebago, to obtain some idea of the emotional make-up and attitude of the intermittently religious man, is the fasting ordeal, and from a comparison of those experiences it is [789] quite clear that a sufficiently large number of people were not able to obtain that thrill which they had been taught to expect. It is also clear that the shamans and religious leaders recognized this fact and provided for it by advising such people to buy the requisite protection against the trials and misfortunes of life, or as they put it, "the crises or narrow places of life." Such a person would certainly not be regarded as one of the leaders of the tribe.

The ideal that the parent held before the eyes of his children is 867 quite eloquently put in the system of instructions (see p. 166). 787

My son, when you grow up, you should try to be of some benefit to your fellowmen. There is only one way in which this can be done, and that is to fast . . . If you thirst to death, the spirits who are in control of wars will bless you . . . But, my son, if you do not fast repeatedly it will be all in vain that you inflict sufferings upon your-

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159 If he (my father) blessed a man he would do as follows: He would
789 take his bow and arrows and, holding them in both of his hands,
776 take the man around the hill and then into the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There he and the man he wished to bless let their breath pass into the middle of the lodge (i. e., into the hill). There stood a stone pillar and upon this stone pillar, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of different animals. My father had only one arrow, but that arrow was a holy one. Then my father danced around the stone pillar and sang some songs, and when he was finished he began to breathe upon the stone pillar; and, walking around it, he shot it. When he looked at it, he saw that the stone had turned into a deer with large horns. This deer fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times and the little spirits who were following him breathed with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done here. Then
[782] offer tobacco to us and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

159 "Now, my son, I want you to be able to do as I do. I want you
867 to be able to kill deer whenever you wish, and at any particular time." My father was a very good hunter and I wanted to be very much like him. I knew that what he was saying was true and that it would be good to follow his advice. I was also told that if I traveled around the hill where these spirits lived, then all earthly things would agree with me and that I would be the gainer thereby. If I did this, they told me, then I would never suffer any pains in my body and I would never be troubled in any way.

159 And this they told me about the ghost village—that when I go
787 there I will be able to steal a costly shawl from the spirits and be
775 able to escape with it; that then all the inhabitants of the ghost village would chase me, but that they would not be able to overtake me and would be compelled to turn back as soon as I reached the earth. In this ghost village there are no grown-up children.[1]

Now, all that I have spoken of, I dreamed. I really dreamed that I was stealing a costly shawl and that I would have plenty of them all the time. I dreamed that I would obtain ten or even more
787 shawls in one year and that I would not have to pay anything for
159 them. What the spirits meant by shawls was supplies. However,
795 all this took place before I ate the peyote. Since then I know that these things were not true, and that what I must depend upon is not supernatural power, but myself, and my own endeavors. Super-
[783] natural powers do not come from anywhere. They do not exist at all. The blessings I had received were not holy and I am not holy.

[1] He is evidently referring to the spirit home of the Hoch'a, or Those-who-cry-like-babies.

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B.'S FASTING.

(B. WAS A MEMBER OF THE BEAR CLAN)

159 787 776 There was a village near Big Lake (Lake Winnebago), and at this village the upper people and the earth people played lacrosse.[10] The Bear was the chief clan of the lower people, and those representing that side in the game defeated the representatives of the other side by sheer strength. Then one of the upper people said, "What effeminate fellows those Bear people are. They are very strong, but it would be much better if instead of being so strong in playing lacrosse they were strong when on the warpath." Thus he spoke. Then one of the Bear people (the one whose fasting is about to be described) felt very much grieved and went out into the wilderness to fast. His desire was to be blessed by those spirits who are in control of war, and in his longing to be blessed by them he cried bitterly. Soon he heard some one saying, "Do not cry any more, we have come after you from above. The spirits have blessed you. You are going to be taken to the lodge of your friends." When the young man got there he saw four men. They were called cannibals, and they were brothers. "Our friends have blessed you and we also bless you," said the four spirits. These four spirits were catfish. Then some white crane spirits said, "Our friends have blessed you. With spears they have blessed you. Indeed, for good reason was your heart sad (i. e., did you make yourself suffer while fasting). With victory on the warpath do we bless you. Here is your bundle. Here also are your spears and your bow and arrows. This bundle you must use when you go on the warpath. Here also are some songs to use when you start out and when you return. With these songs I bless you. Here they are:

[533]

SONGS

Ho'sto k'ine'djaⁿe'dja rahi'jê?
Where they gathered, there did you go?
K'âro' hitcak'âro' ha'gixewi'ⁿe.
Well, my friend, shout at it for him.

[789] "When the enemy is close upon you and aim their guns at you, if you sing these songs they will not be able to hit you. If you sing these songs then, those who gave you a name will honor you."[11] Thus 776 we bless you. With life also we bless you."

756 159 787 [526]

ARATCGE'KA'S FASTING[12]

Aratcge'ka, Left-handed-one, went out to fast. "A spirit I wish to bless me. I am fasting because I was told to do so. A shaman

[10] In playing lacrosse the upper and lower divisions were always pitted against one another.

[11] The sense is not quite clear here, but it is believed that he means that by singing one of these songs he will be victorious and be able to count coup or distinguish himself in some such way, and thus be worthy of being honored by his elders.

[12] This account of a fasting has been cast in a literary mold. It evidently relates to the fasting experience of a well-known man.

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When I was ready to go down among the human beings (i. e., when I became reincarnated) I was given the power to overcome my enemies in battle. And this I have actually done. All the Thunderbirds have small war-clubs. I also had one when I came. Whenever I went on the warpath I made myself a war-club and used that only in battle. I believe that I was invulnerable. Whenever I got tired of living among human beings I knew I could return to the Thunderbirds. I thought I knew all this and that I had these powers. For that reason when I ate peyote I still held on to these beliefs for a long time, thinking that when I returned to the Thunderbirds inasmuch as they are above it would be the same as going to everlasting life, as the Peyote people said. Finally, one night, at a peyote meeting, in thinking over these things, I resolved to give them up. I could, nevertheless, not bring myself to do it. Then the peyote began to strangle me;[*] at least I thought so.

I also had the power of causing or stopping rain. All that I had to do was to offer tobacco to the Thunderbirds and make my request.

HOW A BEAR BLESSED A MAN[†]

Once a band of Winnebagoes used to give a feast to the bears. A bear had blessed one of their number with life and victory on the warpath.

It was a spirit-bear that had blessed him. The man was fasting and the spirit blessed him and said, "Human, I bless you. In war you will be able to do as you wish (i. e., you will be able to kill an enemy whenever you desire). The first time you go on the warpath you will come back with the fourth war honor; the second time you go on a warpath you will return with the third war honor; the third time you will return with the second war honor; and the fourth time you will return with the first war honor and receive the first prize, which you are to give to your sister." This is what the man "dreamed." He believed it and was happy. Then the spirit-bear said again, "Human, I said that I blessed you and I really mean it. Earthmaker created me and gave me control of many things. Human, I bless you. As many years as Earthmaker bestowed upon you, that number I also bless you with. You will reach the limit of the years that were granted you. With my body I also bless you. Whenever you are hungry and wish to kill a bear, pour a pipeful of tobacco for me. If then you go out hunting, you will be successful. Don't abuse the bears. I am the chief of the bears. I bless you. Never before have I blessed a human being, as long as I have lived here. As long as your descendants live on this earth, so long will this

[*] According to the Peyote people, if a member does not wish to do or tell something that he ought to, the peyote begins to strangle him and he finds no relief until he tells what is on his mind.

[†] This is really the "origin myth" of a bear feast.

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796 Then the leader of the north band said: "I also will start a song.
575 I greet you."
539 Then the leader of the west band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the south band said: "I also will start a song. I greet you."

Then the leader of the east band sang a song, and the other leaders sang their songs. Each band sang its own songs, not paying any attention to the songs of the others. Each band sang different songs. This they do in order to drown the voices of the others. Should one band overcome the other, it means that that particular band would be blessed with victory in war. What they were really saying is that their songs were more powerful than the others, and that their grandfathers' songs were the holiest. Then they all danced around the lodge, single file, and made their exit from the lodge. While they were dancing, the host sat still singing and beating his drum. They carry their kettles outside. Wherever they wish to eat, there they go and dance around the kettle of food first. Then they eat their meal. They dance in different bands.

796 The ceremony finishes with this feast. It is customary, however,
575 for the one who has been given the seat of honor, that is, the east
[554] seat, to give a feast immediately afterwards. Then the one who has been invited first would do the same thing, so that all four would in this manner give dances in rotation. For this reason it generally took five nights before the ceremony was over. During those five nights no one could sleep. It is from this fact that the word, "Sore-eye Dance," which is the general term used for this ceremony, originated. If a person does not sleep for five nights, his eyes generally get sore, and that is why they call this ceremony the "Sore-eye Dance."

796 Sometimes they perform night-spirit tricks. These would be of
● 789 the following nature: A kettle is put on to boil and some individual
575 fishes out a piece of meat bare-handed without getting burned. At other times they shoot a hole into a drum covering, using a wild-cat claw as a missile. Then they immediately mend it.

When a man is very bad they shoot him with an object and kill him. They used to be very much afraid of such people. Sometimes they take a handful of live coals and embers from the fire, put them into their mouth and then spit them out without getting burned. It is for this reason that they are called holy. Sometimes they take burnt portions of a tree that had been struck by lightning, put them in the fire, and then when they are red hot take them out again and put them in their mouths without extinguishing them. They then spit them out, and it would look like lightning. Or they would shoot one another with cold charcoal. This is all that I know.

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myths is quite important, too, but there she has been changed from a rather indifferent and at times hostile deity to a beneficent, all-loving Mother-earth. 776

The Water. Generally known as nĭŋa, water, but ritualistically as huŋge', chief. There is some doubt as to whether water or the Water Spirit is meant here. This is a deity in no way connected with war. He is most commonly associated with medicines, especially the famous "paint" medicines (wĕse'). [789]

These are the more important spirits and the only ones to whom buckskins are offered in the following ceremony. The following are, however, also of considerable importance:

Eagle.—Always known as Traxcep, eagle. A powerful war deity and a clan animal. [614]

Pigeon Hawk. Always known as K'ĭrjk'ĭrĭ'sgera, pigeon hawk. A powerful war deity.

Wŏnaŋi'ce Ťaŋkĭk.—A term difficult to translate, but meaning, in general, a terror-inspiring man. It refers, however, not to a human deity but to a bird that is supposed to be almost identical with the hawk. It is the name of one of the Winnebago clans. A powerful war deity.

North Wind.—Known as Waxi'regi hŏhi'ra, Wind-that-is-in-the-pine-region. He is associated with war, but is not a very important deity.

Black Hawk. Known as k'eredjų sep. What difference there is between this spirit and Great Black Hawk is not clear.

Day.—Known as hap, day or light. The term is used in rituals, especially in the medicine dance, with the meaning of life. He is very rarely sacrificed to and his mention in this particular performance of the Thunderbird war-bundle feast is merely an illustration of the fact that offerings could be made to any spirit.

In addition to the spirits mentioned above, offerings were made at different performances of the war-bundle feast to all the other spirits and even to heroes, like Trickster, Turtle, Hare, Bladder, Red-Horn, and the Twins. In the performance as given in the following account one great spirit is omitted, Hĕ'rok'a, meaning, literally, "Without horns." A buckskin is always offered to him, on which is painted a small bow and arrow. He is one of the important Winnebago deities, is supposed to be a Lilliputian, and controls many of the powers relating to hunting. [782]

In order to avoid offending any spirit they always leave a portion of tobacco as an offering to those whose names they can not for the moment think of.

DESCRIPTION OF THE WAR-BUNDLE FEAST

The present war bundle has been in the family of B. for a number of generations. Our informant obtained it directly from his father. 778

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778 B. was not the eldest son, but, as mentioned before, the war bundle was always given to that son who manifested the greatest interest in it. When B. and his brothers were quite young their father took them aside one day and told them the stories connected with the [869] war bundle and told them, in addition, that the one manifesting the greatest interest would receive it. B. immediately started getting material for a feast, and this he would give to his father, who would then give a feast. This was repeated over and over again until B.'s father felt that B. knew enough about the ceremony to conduct it himself, after which he allowed him to take entire charge of it

The war bundle contained the following objects;
The body of an eagle (teaxee'p).
The body of a hawk (k'eredju'sep).
The body of an unidentified bird (waninkʻhiwjteukʻiʻzokʻe).
The body of a pigeon hawk (kʻirikʻiʻrisge).
A deer-tail headdress (teasintc wakʻeʻre).
Eagle feathers (teaxeʻp maeʻ).
Medicines (waseʻ).
Flutes (hijeʻjuk).
War club (namaʻtce).

[825] The birds' bodies were supposed to give the possessor, in times of war, the characteristics of these animals. The flutes were associated with different spirits and used to accompany certain songs during the ceremony proper. When blown during a fight, they were sup- [789 posed to paralyze the running powers of the enemy and thus make 726] him an easy prey. The deer-tail headdress, the eagle feathers, and the war club were all war paraphernalia and were always worn when on the warpath.

X 796 When the custodian of a war bundle decides to give a feast he has his nephews go out and kill as many deer as they can, for the larger the number of deer obtained the larger will be the number of spirits to whom they can make offerings. As a rule ten to eleven deer are killed, so that all the clans, or at least all that are still in existence, can be invited.

[202] After the deer have been killed active preparations are begun; the invitation sticks (naŋeʻ ʒoŋa) are sent out, and the wood for the ceremonial lodge is gathered; and, lastly, old women who have [886] passed their climacteric are set to work on the buckskins and ordered to make them as white as possible. In the preparation of the lodge only the nephews, nieces, and wives of the participating men take part.

The night before the ceremony proper, the Sweat-Lodge ritual takes place.

When the buckskins have been thoroughly bleached they are brought into the lodge and given to the host, who proceeds to mark them in the following manner:

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are finished then it will be time for us to eat." Warriors who are sitting within the lodge, we send forth our greetings to you." (War-bundle song.) 796x 539x

Then a man sitting opposite the seat of the host gets up and speaks.

First guest's address to the young people.—"War-bundle owners, young men, those who are the proxies of spirits, are about to use a song for you and start a dance in your behalf; and when they do it, get up and try to obtain war powers by dancing. Women, you should also try to obtain war powers for your brothers by dancing. Now we are not able to obtain (the number of men) that our ancestors used to obtain in the beginning. Then, if in a speech they asked for them, as many men as there were around would immediately begin to dance. Not one of them would remain in his seat. Young women, they used to act in that way in order to obtain life also. All night they would dance and not a single one would tire of it. We encourage you to do thus; that is why I am saying this. That the obtaining of life may be easy, is the reason they told us this. Because I believe it (likewise) is the reason I am telling it to you. War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you all."

Host's second speech.—"War-bundle owners who are sitting here, I greet you all.

"Our grandfathers knew that one of a different tribe[a] had had a vision and obtained material for use (in life). They tried to obtain it and (finally) asked him to pity them. The medicine was called hinuŋgwā'roŋ.[b] They made the heart of the man of this other tribe (Hitc'nuŋk'e) sad."[c] (He had obtained it in the following manner): A woman fasted[d] and one of the Water-spirits whom the Creator had placed there for all eternity, a Water-spirit for keeping (the earth) quiet,[e] blessed her with the power he had been placed in charge of. The Water-spirit had himself die and the woman there 796x 539x 787 [776] [789]

[a] Literally, "last contestants" in reference to the last-eating contest that takes place during the feast.

[b] This is not a Winnebago tale.

[c] My interpreter could not translate the name of this medicine into English. He thought that it might mean "wicked woman medicine," but this is extremely doubtful.

[d] I. e., at the idea of parting with it. What tribe is meant by "Hitc'nuŋk'e," it has been impossible to find out. The word, I believe, means "those whom we can speak with" in reference to the fact that their language was intelligible to the Winnebago. I was definitely assured that neither the Oto, Iowa, or Missouri were meant. I have sometimes surmised that the Winnebago may be referring to the Mandan, whose language, from the little I have seen of it, is surprisingly close to that of the former. All that the older Winnebago could tell me about the Hitc'nuŋk'e was the fact that many years ago they had been in contact with a tribe speaking a language similar to their own. [114]

[e] Literally, "to thirst oneself to death," the ritualistic expression for fasting.

[f] He is referring to one of the four beings whom Earthmaker had placed at the four ends of the world to prevent it from moving continually, as related in the origin myth of the Medicine Dance and of the Thunderbird clan.

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took the material (the remains of the Water-spirit).[773] That it is good, they knew. Then she tried her medicine. The first time she did the following: I'p above, almost near the sky, a hawk stood whirling around. The woman dipped her forefinger into the medicine and then she pointed it at the hawk and it fell dead; she made it fall through the top of a house; right in front of the woman it landed. She wanted to use it as a medicine bag. Then she dreamed that they had taken a man from his home that he might fast. She said to the man, "Put forth all your strength and don't try to come here." She also told his relatives to watch him. "To-night I am going to sing a paint song and if he comes he will die. Take care of him that he doesn't come." That night she sang a paint song and the man came running to her. She forbade him but he came anyhow and he died dancing. This medicine is called hitᵉc'nuŋk'e medicine, referring to the name of another tribe, and that is how it acted.

"They (our ancestors) knew that it was good paint and he (one of them) tried to get him (the Hitᵉc'nuŋk'e) to bless him with the paint (the latter had obtained from the woman). When they obtained it, they never used it in their own midst (i. e., among themselves). They made a medicine-bundle of it. The paint-medicine, it is good to use in war. That they knew very well. They were very sparing in their use of it (because it was so valuable). They placed it in their war-bundle. Paint-songs we are about to use, yet we are singing for the war-bundle. If, indeed we had paint medicine we would amount to something. We are not going to sing as if we thought ourselves in possession of paint-medicines nor will we sing them correctly. Yet if we knew only one, if we could (in singing this one) bring ourselves to the state of crying (it would be all right), it is said. That is why we say it."[774] (Paint song.)

Host's third speech. "War-bundle owners who are seated here, I greet you. I know that I am causing you to famish with hunger, but we are doing this in an attempt to get the attention (of the spirits). One in control of death who dwells in the south[775] and who of himself possesses greater war power than all the other spirits that exist, blessed grandfather Djôhenagjwi'ŋxga. He is in control of life and in control of death. He met grandfather in the middle of the day and blessed him with war powers and life. He said (to our grandfather when he blessed him), "If I should ever go on the warpath, your descendants, as many as they are and wherever they live, I will not tread upon, should they get sick." However, your posterity never will get sick. Should they ever have a bad illness,

[773] The Winnebago believe that the "bones" of the mythical "Water-spirits" possess the most magical qualities when powdered and mixed up into medicines. All "paint medicines" are made of "Water-spirit bones."

[774] All these sentences are, of course, expressions of ritualistic modesty.

[775] I. e., Dream-giver.

[776] Cf. note 36, p. 437, for explanation of these words.

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CONTINUATION OF THE BASIC RITUAL

Speech of eighth guest.[159]—"Host and relatives, I send my greetings toward you. You seated here who are impersonating the spirits, I send my greetings toward you. It is good that there are so many war-bundle owners here. It is good that they have given me the opportunity of impersonating the spirits, by placing me in charge of the food that they offer to them. Though I am not related to the host, he has done this for me. That I may grope for war powers, feel myself in connection with life, that is why we do it. It is good. As many of my relatives as are here, they all worked splendidly so that we might be connected with life. He who is the leader of our grandfathers who dwell in the east (the Night Spirits), who is in control of all things, who is in control of war powers, he blessed our grandfather and he caused him to swallow as many people of other tribes as had been preordained for him. Within his stomach our grandfather heard their cries, he said, it is said. Thus thinking of my grandfather they asked me to impersonate the spirits. How could the spirits do anything but accept the offerings of tobacco, food, and buckskin! They have had a very great feast, and surely if the spirits take cognizance of it, all those who have been impersonating the spirits will also be permitted to participate (in the blessings) to follow. Our ancestors handed down to us from generation to generation the following: 'When you offer food to the spirits, sit down to your undertaking with the greatest possible attention and care. Try to smoke as much tobacco as possible, for if you smoke much tobacco then all the spirits who are in control of war powers will pay attention to you, it is said. If a man smokes very much tobacco in one night, then he will be able to obtain a war honor, it is said. Try your hardest. Young men, it is easy to obtain war powers, the old men used to say. If the spirits accept the offerings of food and tobacco and buckskins, then afterwards those who have impersonated them will participate in the blessings that follow.'

"We feel that we have been connected with life and war power. It is for that reason that I say these words of thanks. If you give the feast for the war bundle well, if you pour tobacco well, then, if at some time or another you have a chance to kill an enemy outright, the war bundle will strengthen you greatly. No one will be able to kill you.

539 X 796 X 539 X 796 X 782 [789]

[159] I. e., eighth guest to receive the buckskins, continuing the enumeration from the first division of the ceremony.

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you can do so, and the women likewise can join, because we have 796x
collect up our bundle. To the dog that we have here, an offering of 539x
tobacco can be made." Thus speaking, he sings. After he has 782
finished the song, someone specially called upon gives the war [562]
whoop, in which the rest join. In this manner they sing four times,
and the ceremony ends. They have a dog around whose neck they [231]
tie a red rag, together with a bundle of tobacco, and to each of
whose limbs they also tie a bundle of tobacco. This dead dog is to
be placed wherever the bones that remain of the feast are buried,
generally under some tree. It is supposed that the dog will go
directly to the Disease-giver together with the tobacco and there
be taken over by him.

Notes on the Thunderbird clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, mem- [554]
ber of the clan: Place of honor at the feast is given to the bravest
man present. Scalps, etc., are always brought to those keeping
the war bundle.

Contents of bundle: Black hawk (main thing), two wolf tails, 778
buffalo tail, snake, weasel, three flutes—one red, one black, and one 726
blue. 789

Black hawk used in time of war. If I were leading the war party
I would carry it and it would be able to fly. It had a small bundle
of medicine tied around the neck, on each wing and each leg. A red
flute always went with it.

The two wolf tails could be taken on any warpath. It gives an
individual the power of running. The medicine tied to it is to be
smeared over the body in order to prevent fatigue. It is also used [224]
in hunting.

Buffalo tail gives fleetness and indicates that the man received
strength from the buffalo spirit.

Weasel and snake could be put around the neck and worn over
the shoulders in times of war. Gives the power of these respective [225]
animals in wiggling.

Flutes, blue in connection with the buffalo, red in connection [534]
with the black hawk, and black in connection with the night spirits

The War-bundle Feast of the Bear Clan

Informant, member of the Bear clan: The people were about to go 796x
on a hunt, it is said. They returned. Four deer had been killed. 539x
And again they went, and this time three deer were killed. But it was
not sufficient, so they went out again, and when they returned it was
found that they had killed only three deer. "Well," they said, "this [262]
will be all right. We have ten deer. Perhaps they will last as food
until dawn."

They told the attendants to get ready the lodge and to build the
fireplaces. They told them also to have the wood and the buck-

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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After the speeches were all over the offerings were taken down and thrown outside through the opening in the roof of the lodge and then night songs were sung. Before throwing the offerings out they marched around the lodge carrying them in their hands. At the approach of dawn the drum, gourds, etc., have about made the entire circuit of the lodge, and as soon as they reach the host he begins to sing the night songs. After these he sings turtle songs, and then the songs are over. The host now calls upon some one to give the war whoop, so that the spirits in the west may hear their voices. Nanhį'tcoga gave the war whoop. All joined in, and the feast was over.

Descriptive notes on the Bear clan war-bundle feast.—Informant, member of clan: About the middle of winter, in the month called deer-breeding month, the Winnebago used to go out hunting, and they gave a feast to all the spirits who had blessed them.

They are very careful not to have the kettles boil over, because they believe that a man's soul (*naγi'rak'*) might be wandering about and is likely to come down along the chain of the kettle. If it doesn't boil over, the man is likely to conquer the possessions of this spirit (of an enemy) in the next battle.

The invitation sticks are sent out only to men who own a war bundle, and the clans are invited in the following fashion: First the Wolf, then the Hawk, and then any order.

The contents of the war bundle represent the following: The crow means strength in running. The turtle and the spear, the blessings which enable one to get out of difficulties, the former referring especially to difficulties in crossing water; they also enable their possessor to foretell when enemies are approaching and to tell an individual how many enemies he is going to conquer. The flute represents the voices of musical birds. When an enemy hears them it paralyzes him and he can not run.

My Brother-in-Law Thunder Cloud

dances of a lively kind. From that place we went up to where Earthmaker lives and I saw him and talked to him, face to face, even as I am talking to you now. I saw the spirits too and, indeed, I was like one of them.

Thence I came to this earth for the third time and here I am. I am going through the same that I knew before.

Thus my brother-in-law had lived long ago, had joined the Medicine Dance* and adhered strictly to its precepts. He was a good man; he disliked no one; he never stole and never did he fight. He made offerings of tobacco to the spirits and was always giving feasts. He could always be relied upon.

When Thunder Cloud was in spirit land, just before he was to come to this earth, he fasted. He only ate once a month. All the different spirits who live on high, all those who live under the earth, indeed all those whom Earthmaker had created, they all blessed him. Then he came to the earth and was born here as a human being again. When he came to the earth he fasted. All the various spirits who had blessed him before, now blessed him again. Thus did he become a holy man. When he came here, he became a shaman for he was very holy. Indeed he was the North Spirit.

* The Medicine Dance is a secret society which with the preliminary ceremonies lasts five days. Members of this society are supposed to possess the secret of being able to kill one another and then to restore one another to life again. The "killing" is done by "shooting" a shell from a pouch made out of an otter skin. The shell is supposed to enter the body of the person shot at and to render him unconscious. He regains consciousness gradually after spitting out the shell. The ceremony is described in detail on pp. 103 ff. of this autobiography.

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My father had control of them and when
*159 he wished to bless a man he would take his bow and
787 arrows and, holding them in his hands, lead the man
788 around the hill and into the lodge (*i.e.*, into the hill). There he would look for a stone pillar, and upon it, at about arm's length, he drew the pictures of a number of different animals. My father possessed only one arrow, but that one was a holy one. Then dancing around the stone pillar and singing some songs, he finished by breathing upon the pillar. Finally he walked around and shot at it and when he looked at the
● [789] stone, it had turned into a deer with large horns which fell dead at his feet. He repeated this a number of times. The little spirits living in the hill breathed
[776] with him and said, "Winnebago, whenever you wish to
[782] kill a deer with one horn, do as you have done, and offer us tobacco and you will be able to obtain whatever you wish."

*159 This was the power my father wished my brother
787 to obtain. My father was a very famous hunter and my brother wished to be like him.

Now of all these things my brother dreamed; with all these powers he was blessed. He also had a vision
[775] of visiting the village of the ghosts. There he was able to steal a costly shawl and escape with it. He dreamed that all the inhabitants of the ghost village chased him but that they were unable to overtake him and were compelled to return back when my brother reached the earth.

The night after we had stopped fasting we gave our feast. There, however, our pride received a fall, for

Crashing Thunder

Say, you wish to obtain the paint medicine. For that you
*159 would have to put yourself in the most abject condition
787 before the spirits. If you smear yourself with your paint
●789 medicine it will irresistibly attract the enemy; it will
867 paralyze him, deprive him of all power of movement and utterly overpower him. Keep it in your home and then you will never be in want of riches. People will give you their most valued possessions owing to the influence of this paint medicine. The paint medicine is made from the
[776] blood of the waterspirits and that is why it is so holy. People obtain it by fasting and thirsting themselves to death and then receiving a blessing from the waterspirit. Earthmaker placed the waterspirits in possession of these powers so that they could then, in turn, bestow them on us.

*159 Some people succeeded in obtaining a medicine that will
789 enable a person to outdistance another in running. It might
759 perhaps be well for you to learn something about this.
867 There are medicines to be used in courting; medicines to prevent married people from separating; medicines for getting rich; medicines for causing people to become crazy. Should you, for instance, wish to make a person feel very sad at heart, then you can poison him with this last-named medicine and even make him crazy. It is also possible to make a woman who has refused you become a harlot, for this medicine will make her fall in love with every man she sees. Indeed any kind of medicine you desire can you obtain from certain individuals. Some are acquainted with medicines that put one to sleep, others with those that keep one awake and give one insomnia. Some have medicines enabling one to overcome the viciousness of dogs who are put to watch over women; others again have medicines that make people single out the possessor in a crowd. Every one will look at him and consider him a great man.

The Teachings of My Father

There are medicines to prevent people from getting tired when walking and medicines to cause a dog fight to take place. In short there are medicines for everything. 159 * 789 ● 867

Every one must take care of himself and try to obtain that knowledge which will enable him to live in comfort and happiness. Try therefore to learn about the things you will need. If you know them, then as you travel along in life, you will not have to go to the expense of buying them from others, but you will have your own medicines. If you act in this way and if, in addition, you fast properly, you will never be caught off guard in life. Should you possess a home, it will look beautiful and you will never be in want. That is why I know you will never regret this that I am telling you. So you shall travel on your journey though life, along the virtuous road taken by all your fellowmen, and your actions and behavior will never become the butt of your neighbor's sarcasm. 159 * 597 867 [626]

Help yourself as you travel along the road of life. The earth has many narrow passages scattered over it. If you have something with which to strengthen yourself, then when you get to these narrow turns you will be able to pass through them safely and your fellow men will respect you. See to it that people like you. Be on friendly terms with every one and then every one will like you. You will be happy and prosperous.

Never do any wrong to your children. Whatever your children ask of you, do it for them. If you act thus people will then say that you are good natured. [593]

If any one in the village loses a friend through death, should you at all be wealthy, cover the expenses of the funeral of the deceased, if you can. Help the mourners likewise in defraying the expenses of feeding the departed. If you act thus, you will do well. All the people you have

Crashing Thunder

I ran away from the two
*159 women with whom I had been living. We spent some
224 time hunting. Every morning we would get up very
[837] early, stay out the whole day and not return until the
night. Often although we had been on our feet all
[264] day we would not find time to have our noon meal. At
night, regularly, we would take our sweat-baths. We
took these sweat-baths because they are supposed to
● [789] act as magical charms to ensure success in hunting. It
[515] was always very refreshing to take them and then
plunge into cold water, whether at night or in the
morning.

[P. 132]